

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:WEAGLETON:EUR/NE:APINKNEY:BAL

APPROVED BY EUR:JROUSE

P:PMARTINEZ

S/S-O: LMATTESON

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O R 222216Z SEP 74

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 208915

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, NO, IC, UN, NATO

SUBJECT: SISCO'S MEETING WITH NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

FOR HARTMAN AND SISCO

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT PLEASE CLEAR CONTENTS OF CABLE WITH
HARTMAN

1. THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A BILATERAL BRIEFING PAPER
FOR MR. SISCO WHO WILL BE MEETING WITH THE NORWEGIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER, KNUT FRYDENLUND, IN NEW YORK.

2. BILATERAL TALKS DURING UNGA - NORWAY - FOREIGN MINISTER
FRYDENLUND

SETTING

THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS ASKED THAT HE MIGHT MEET WITH
YOU TO DISCUSS THE ICELAND BASE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CYPRUS
AND GREEK SITUATIONS.

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OUR OBJECTIVE:

GIVEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S STRONG PRO-US ORIENTATION, IT
IS IN OUR INTEREST TO KEEP HIM WELL INFORMED AND UNDERSTAND-

ING OF OUR POSITIONS SO THAT HE CAN EXERT A HELPFUL
INFLUENCE IN HIS CONTACTS WITH OTHER NORDICS AND

DELEGATES FROM SMALLER EUROPEAN POWERS AND THE LDC'S. A
DISCUSSION OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF GREEK WITHDRAWAL FROM
MILITARY COOPERATION WIT; NATO FOR THE SECURITY OF THE
ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE IS ESPECIALLY BENEFICIAL AS NORWEGIANS
TEND TO OVERLOOK THE RELATIONSHIP OF THEIR OWN ULTIMATE
SECURITY TO THE STRENGTH OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK.

3. FRYDENLUND HAS BEEN FOREIGN MINISTER SINCE LAST OCTO-
BER WHEN THE MINORITY LABOR GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER
BRATTELI CAME BACK INTO POWER AS THE RESULT OF SEPTEMBER
ELECTIONS. FRYDENLUND IS A FORMER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER
AND WAS A STUDENT OF THE SECRETARY IN 1968. HE IS BRIGHT
BUT SHARES, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, THE SIMPLISTIC VIEWS OF
MANY OF HIS NORDIC COLLEAGUES ON COMPLICATED INTERNATIONAL
ISSUES.

4. OUR RELATIONS WITH NORWAY RUN SMOOTHLY AND, EXCEPT FOR
DIFFICULTIES WITH THEM AT THE MOMENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL
ENERGY PROGRAM, THERE ARE NO CONTENTIOUS OUTSTANDING
ISSUES.

5. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS:

(1) ICELAND BASE NEGOTIATIONS:

BACKGROUND: THE ICELAND BASE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN THEIR
CRUCIAL PHASE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ICELAND, EINAR
AGUSTSSON, IS COMING TO WASHINGTON ON SEPTEMBER 26 TO
RESUME THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WERE PLACED IN ABEYANCE LAST
MAY WHEN THE GOVERNMENT OF OLAFUR JOHANNESSEN FELL. THE
NEW COALITION GOVERNMENT, HEADED BY GEIR HALLGRIMSSON, THE
LEADER OF THE PRO-BASE INDEPENDENCE PARTY, STATED IN ITS
COALITION PLATFORM THAT ICELAND WILL REMAIN IN NATO AND
WILL ALLOW THE CONTINUATION OF OUR BASE FACILITIES
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THERE.

IN THIS NEW POLITICAL CLIMATE, IT WAS THOUGHT BEST BY
US AND BY THE GOI TO TRY TO BRING THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO A
CONCLUSION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. TO THIS END, OUR AMB TO
ICELAND, FREDERICK IRVING, HAS BEEN CARRYING ON DISCUSSIONS
WITH THE GOI, UNDER YOUR DIRECT GUIDANCE. THESE DISCUS-
SIONS SHOULD RESULT IN DRAFT AGREEMENTS READY FOR
INITIALLING AT THE SEPTEMBER 26 MEETING.

NORWEGIAN POSITION: NORWAY HOPES THAT WE CAN REACH AN
AGREEMENT WITH THE ICELANDIC GOVERNMENT WHEREBY THE BASE
AT KEFLAVIK CAN CONTINUE TO PERFORM ITS IMPORTANT NATO

FUNCTIONS. NORWAY FEELS THAT ITS SECURITY IN WARTIME WOULD BE DRASTICALLY AFFECTED IF ICELAND COULD NOT BE COUNTED UPON AS A STAGING AREA IN THE SUPPORT OF NORWAY.

US POSITION: IDENTICAL TO THAT OF NORWAY.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- YOU UNDERSTAND ONLY TOO WELL THE NORWEGIAN CONCERN THAT THE US NATO BASE IN ICELAND NOT BE REMOVED OR REDUCED IN EFFECTIVENESS.

-- WITH THESE VERY SAME CONCERNS, THE USG HAS BEEN USING EVERY MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL TO ENSURE, IN ITS ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOI, THAT THE BASE MAY REMAIN AND THAT IT MAY CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT ITS VITAL FUNCTIONS IN THE DEFENSE STRUCTURE OF NATO.

-- THE USG IS QUITE PLEASED WITH THE CHANGE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S DEFENSE POLICY.

-- YOU NOTED WITH INTEREST THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD PREDICTED THE CHANGE IN THE ICELANDIC GOVERNMENT AND WE APPRECIATE THE GOOD ADVICE HE GAVE US ON THAT ONE -- MIGHT WE BE ABLE TO BORROW HIS FORTUNE TELLER FROM TIME TO TIME.

-- WE ALSO APPRECIATE THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES WORK THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT, AND FRYDENLUND, IN PARTICULAR, HAVE DONE IN MAKING CLEAR THEIR POSITION ON THE NEED FOR THE BASE TO THE GOI.

-- THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WILL OCCUR THIS WEEK IN WASHINGTON ON SPT 26. YOU AND FOREIGN MINISTER AGUSTSSON WILL BE SITTING DOWN IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND FRIENDLINESS TO TRY TO WORK TOWARDS AN AGREEMENT.

-- KNOWING FULL WELL THAT THE MINISTER UNDERSTANDS THE NEED FOR TOTAL DISCRETION IN THIS CRUCIAL PHASE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, YOU WOULD LIKE TO TELL HIM THAT IT IS OUR STRONG HOPE THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO INITIAL AN AGREEMENT, IN ESSENCE TERMINATING THE NEGOTIATIONS, ON THURSDAY. THE AGREEMENT THAT BOTH SIDES NOW SEEM TO HAVE IN MIND

WOULD, WE BELIEVE, MEET THE POLICY OBJECTIVE OF THE GOI AS STATED IN ITS COALITION DEFENSE PLATFORM AND WOULD NOT REDUCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ICELAND DEFENSE FORCE.

-- WE ARE AWARE THAT ICELANDERS, WITH NO MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR OWN, HAVE REAL DIFFICULTY IN UNDERSTANDING MILITARY IMPERATIVES. WE HOPE THAT THE NORWEGIANS, IN THEIR OWN WAY, CAN CONTINUE TO EDUCATE THE ICELANDERS ON THE NEED FOR A STRONG SECURITY POSTURE FOR NATO WHICH THE BASE ON THEIR SOIL HELPS TO PROVIDE.

(2) CYPRUS: NORWAY'S POSITION -- FORMIN FRYDENLUND WILL BE INTERESTED IN HAVING SOME BACKGROUND ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE INCLUDING HOW THE US VIEWS THE POSSIBILITIES FOR A SETTLEMENT.

BACKGROUND AND US POSITION: AT THE PRESENT TIME GREECE IS NOT PREPARED TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE BECAUSE, IN HER VIEW, IT WOULD NOT BE HONORABLE TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH TURKEY WHILE TURKISH FORCES OCCUPY 40 PERCENT OF CYPRUS. MEANWHILE A FRAGILE NEGOTIATING PROCESS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED IN NICOSIA BY THE LEADER OF THE GREEK-CYPRIOT

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COMMITTEE, ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES AND THE LEADER OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, DENKTASH. THESE TALKS ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES HAVE ACHIEVED SOME SUCCESS ON PRISONER EXCHANGES; AND IN THEIR PRIVATE SESSIONS CLERIDES AND DENKTASH HAVE BEGUN TO DISCUSS SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL ISSUES. CLERIDES HAS ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLES OF A GEOGRAPHIC FEDERATION AND THE GREEK GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO SUPPORT HIM. HOWEVER, ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, WHO STILL HAS THE LEGAL POSITION OF PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS HAS BEEN MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENTS WHICH UNDERCUT CLERIDES' POSITION.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AND TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO REACH A FINAL SETTLEMENT. ATHENS, HOWEVER, WANTS A SIGNIFICANT GESTURE FROM TURKEY TO CREATE THE NECESSARY ATMOSPHERE FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

THE US SUPPORTS THE CLERIDES TALKS AND IS PREPARED, AT THE RIGHT TIME, TO USE ITS INFLUENCE IN ANKARA. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS WILL PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR LATER NEGOTIATIONS TO INCLUDE GREEK AND TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES AND PERHAPS LATER THE UK IN A GENEVA-TYPE FORUM.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE DENKTASH AND CLERIDES TALKS SHOULD BE SUPPORTED AND NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE IN THE UNGA TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THEIR TALKS TO SUCCEED.

-- WE OPPOSE THE SOVIETS SUGGESTION THAT THE CYPRUS ISSUE SHOULD BE QUOTE INTERNATIONALIZED UNQUOTE.

-- FRIENDS OF GREECE AND TURKEY SHOULD URGE THOSE TWO COUNTRIES TO EXERCISE FLEXIBILITY AND TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY SO AS TO ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY LONG-TERM SOLUTION.

-- WE ARE PREPARED TO USE OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME TO HELP CREATE THE NECESSARY FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

-- THE USG ;AS BEEN GIVING SIGNIFICANT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO CYPRUS THROUGH THE ICRC AND THE UNHCR (ABOUT 7 MILLION DOLLARS THUS FAR). WE HOPE THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THIS EFFORT.

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TANCE TO CYPRUS THROUGH THE ICRC AND THE UNHCR (ABOUT 7 MILLION DOLLARS THUS FAR). WE HOPE THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THIS EFFORT.

(3) GREECE AND NATO: NORWEGIAN POSITION: THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT OPPOSED THE JUNTA IN GREECE AND NOW WELCOMES THE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY UNDER KARAMANLIS. THE NORWEGIANS ARE CONCERNED OVER GREECE'S INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE MILITARY SIDE OF NATO.

US POSITION: THE US WELCOMES THE RETURN OF GREECE TO DEMOCRATIC RULE AND WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO SUPPORT THE KARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT. WE ARE CONCERNED BY GREECE'S ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF NATO AND WE HOPE GREECE WILL RECONSIDER ITS DECISION. GREECE HAS NOT YET APPROACHED US WITH REGARD TO OUR BILATERAL MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- WE SUPPORT THE KARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT AND HOPE THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT WILL DO SO AS WELL.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT ANTI-AMERICAN ATMOSPHERE IN GREECE IS DANGEROUS FOR GREECE AND, IF UNCHECKED, COULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE THE WESTERN POSITION IN THAT COUNTRY.

-- WE PREFER TO LET GREECE TAKE THE INITIATIVE WITH REGARD

TO NATO SINCE WE STILL HOPE TO PRESERVE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE OF GREEK PARTICIPATION IN NATO DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS.

-- WE HOPE NORWAY WILL SUPPORT KARAMANLIS AND DO WHAT IT CAN TO CONVINCE HIS GOVERNMENT THAT IT SHOULD RECONSIDER, OR AT LEAST MINIMIZE, ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO'S MILITARY ASPECTS. INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DOCUMENTS, MEETING AGENDA, MEETINGS, PLANNING MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 SEP 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: cunninfx
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE208915
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/SE:WEAGLETON:EUR/NE:APINKNEY:BAL
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D740266-0777
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740990/abbryzxa.tel
Line Count: 271
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cunninfx
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15 MAY 2002 by martinml>; APPROVED <06 MAR 2003 by cunninfx>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SISCO'S MEETING WITH NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, NO, IC, US, UN, NATO, (SISCO, JOSEPH J), (FRYDENLUND, KNUT)
To: USUN N Y INFO OSLO
REYKJAVIK
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005